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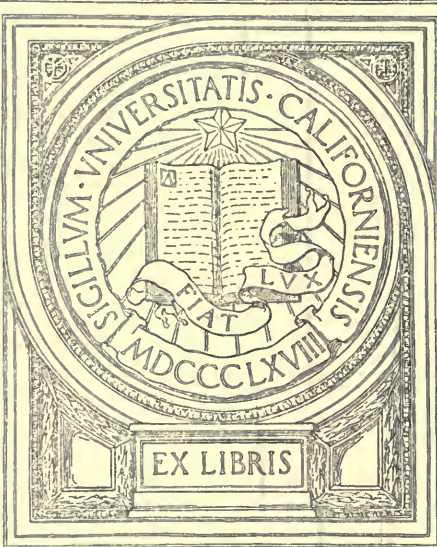


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MARTIN PRING, LAST OF THE ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN



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CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING
LAST OF THE ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN

ADDRESS BY
PROF. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS



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MONUMENT TO MARTIN PRING

St. Stephens Church, Bristol, England

CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING, LAST OF THE ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN

BY PROF. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS

*A paper read on November 19, 1903, before the Maine Historical
Society at a meeting commemorative of the tercentenary of
Martin Pring's first voyage to America*

In the year 1603, Captain Martin Pring of Bristol, England, sailed westward to this coast and, after spending some weeks in Whitson Bay, now Plymouth Harbor in Massachusetts, returned to England with a shipload of sassafras. By many students this voyage has been remarked chiefly because seventeen years later the Mayflower, driven from her course by storms, dropped anchor in the same waters where formerly Captain Pring had found both safety and profit. Such lovers of coincidence have sought to give to Captain Pring's achievement merely an introductory character, to credit him with sagacity in the choice of a harbor only because other men of wider fame were later compelled by the will of the winds to the same harbor. In short these Greek givers would notice and praise Captain Pring for something he could neither help nor hinder, and thus would bury his rightful glory beneath borrowed laurels; by so doing

they in reality deny him substantive value and make his fame a poor *ex post facto* affair, at the mercy of every judicial reader.

Such unearned honors and such unnecessary claims to notice, Captain Pring himself would be the first to reject ; for he could well cite better title to commemoration than mere coincidence. This better title is to be found in the record of his life work, and that not only because of what he did but also because his career is itself a mirror to his times, because in him are displayed the working of forces which were to give substance and character to the course of English history.

I feel the readier to recall to your minds the story of his life, as far as it can be known to-day, because from your vantage ground you have already seen the truth of my contention. To declare the honor of Martin Pring by a commemorative meeting is proof that this Society is fulfilling those functions, both delightful and valuable, which especially pertain to an association by name singular yet by interests universal. For it is the good fortune of such societies to stand where the path broadens to the highway, to point the traveller down the country lane to the hamlet whose life will show the deep rootages of ancient custom and local habit, or to give him direction along the avenue where a new nation has but just passed. Such a position accommodates itself to the story I have to tell of a man by whom small matters were well ordered and brought forth, yet who on occasion was able to effect those greater deeds which enrich

the memory and enliven the hope of our inherited history. I shall speak to you this evening of Captain Martin Pring, last of the Elizabethan seamen, adventurer in both hemispheres for the glory and gain of England.¹

I.

First, however, I must speak of the England which gave birth to Martin Pring, of the manner of men he had for his example, of their purpose and endeavor made evident in action and of the spirit which must have been bred in him by the events of his time, that we may the better judge how well this Benjamin,

¹ BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE. The materials for this paper are much scattered. We have brief records made either by Captain Pring or by some scribe at his direction of the voyage to America in 1603 and of voyages to the East Indies in 1614 and 1617. To reinforce and check these we have also several notices in contemporary sources, to wit, for the first American voyage a summary statement by Purchas and a bare record preserved by Captain John Smith of Robert Salterne's short relation of the same. For the Guiana voyage in 1604 there exist a letter of Charles Leigh to his brother, Sir Olive Leigh, and the relation of Master John Wilson, who was also concerned in that unfortunate venture. The character of the second American voyage (1606) is explained by letters and a narration of Captain Challons, who was to have been Pring's partner in colonization on that occasion, by writings of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, by Strachey in his "Historie of Travaile into Virginia" and by the "Brief Relation of the President and Council for New England," published in 1622. The story of Pring's services in the employ of the East India Company is given in the records of his fellow-sailors, notably in the diary of Captain Nicholas Downton and in the relation of Master John Hatch, both of the Company's service; the despatches and diary of Sir Thomas Roe, British envoy and resident at the court of the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir, are valuable, as are also the papers of the Company, and other official documents to be found in the Calendar of State Papers. The only evidence concerning a third voyage to America is the will of one Miles Prickett, a baker, who died near Canterbury, England, in 1626 or 1627. The secondary sources which deserve special notice are few; they consist chiefly of brief biographical notices in Brown's "Genesis of the United States," in the "Dictionary of National Biography" and in a pamphlet by Dr. James Pring of Plymouth, England, published in 1888. Articles in several periodicals and in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" are of varying merit; those by Dr. De Costa, however, are valuable for disputed matters in early American discovery. On close examination the whole sifts to comparatively little of determined value. Many gaps remain and much may still be open to debate; but no attempt has been made to proceed beyond the limit set by the evidence available. A bibliography of titles cited will be found at the close of the paper.

youngest and last of the breed, gave sign of the stock from which he sprang.

At the start of his essay "Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain" Sir Francis Bacon wisely says: "The just measure and estimate of the forces and power of an estate is a matter, than the which there is nothing among civil affairs more subject to error, nor that error more subject to perilous consequence."¹ It would have been easy indeed to mistake the measure of England's power in the year when Martin Pring was born, for in 1580 modern England was approaching the first great crisis of her life. Not again till the day of Louis XIV or of Napoleon were the vital forces of the state to be so vehemently attacked from abroad. It is true that men were to dispute the nature of sovereignty and its proper location in the nation; men were to make petitions, grand remonstrances, solemn covenants and declarations of right; one king was to die for his prerogative and another was to lose his throne for his faith and conduct, yet throughout the long struggle of the seventeenth century the existence of England as an independent nation was never so vitally at stake as in the years when Martin Pring was coming to youth.

Later Montesquieu was to write of the English as the people who above all others had known best how to "profit simultaneously by three great forces — religion, commerce and liberty."² For the problems which troubled England in 1580 were not of one category;

¹ Bacon: "Works," VII, p. 47.

² "*Esprit des lois*," I, XX, c. 7.

nor did each stand separate ; rather did politics, religion and economics form an equilateral, inseparable and fundamental, on which modern England was to rise a free, Protestant and maritime power.

In the opening years of Elizabeth's rule there stood foremost the question of religion, disastrous legacy of earlier reigns. On the one hand was a body of Catholic bishops holding manfully to ancient dogma and tradition and attempting a loyal fealty to both Papal tiara and royal crown. On the other hand were those divines whom an exile on the continent, enforced by Mary's persecutions, had inoculated with a Calvinism hitherto foreign to English minds. Between the two was the great bulk of the English people. These "wished for a national church, independent of Rome, with simple services, not too unlike those to which they had been accustomed " before the will of Henry VIII had swept the church into the employ of his passions. Some must be dissatisfied whatever solution be finally attained of the problem thus propounded. One thing, however, was certain — Papal jurisdiction could not be revived in the domain of a queen to be adjudged illegitimate and heretical by Papal Europe. Another thing was desirable — namely, to proceed with such leisurely liberty as might allow men to compose their minds to a regime of discussion without animosity, yet with such order and sympathy that both ecclesiastical continuity and religious consciousness might find one roof to shelter them. For the nation had a conservative belief in God and wished opportunity and place to express that

belief. The England of Elizabeth was a religious if not a pious country. Men might trade in slaves, range the seas as pirates, speak and write broadly, yet they rarely forgot to commend their souls to God or to thank Him who, in the words of Hawkins, the slave-trader, "preserveth his elect." Elizabeth knew her people well and nursed them in religious matters with the hope that a Catholic might still remain a patriot, though England might never again be Roman.¹

Despite the tortuous negotiations concerning her marriage and the succession to the throne Elizabeth emerged from them surrounded by a "personal loyalty of unswerving devotion" on the part of men who conceived it their greatest pleasure to be the "instrument of her glory," their highest honor to merit her approval and their gravest duty to unite in enthusiastic association to defend her person. By the spirit thus inspired men did things with a dash that had much of a swagger; they learned to die with a grand manner. All England was ready to go crusading with Spenser in the name of the Faerie Queen. Sir Walter Raleigh as he entered Cadiz harbor and "all the Spanish forts and ships opened fire on him at once scorned to shoot a gun and made answer with a flourish of insulting trumpets." Again the Earl of Essex when the news reached him that the attack on Cadiz had been decided threw his hat overboard for pure joy, as a school boy would toss his hat in the air at the news of a holiday. Yet Essex was a peer of

¹ Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," pp. 47-49, *et passim*.

the realm, a man of great possessions, who was to be allowed to risk his life.¹ Sir Richard Grenville of the *Revenge* furnishes, perhaps, in the manner of his dying, the best example of them all. After his fight with the Spaniards off the Azores, at odds of one to fifty-three, crying at the end, in the words of the ballad

“ ‘I have fought for Queen and Faith like a valliant man and true;
I have only done my duty as a man is bound to do:
With a joyful spirit I Sir Richard Grenville die.’
And he fell upon their decks, and he died.”

Against the personal charm and beauty of Mary Stuart, against the conspiracies of those Catholics to whom civil obedience was less than religious fanaticism, against fears of Jesuit assassination and of foreign invasion, Elizabeth had to match all the capacity of her mind, all the wisdom of her temporizing policy, and at the last to rest on the patience, affection and bravery of her people. And surely that patience was sorely tried by those outbreaks of petulant cruelty, of wayward despotism, by that practise of parsimony and hesitating compromise which checked her reputation. At times politics sank to a “low level of absurdity” because of her wavering policy; yet at the crisis of her reign, when not only her fate but possibly the course of English history were in the balance, the entire nation rallied to her support and to the defence of the state. For the religious question, linked as it was to that of Elizabeth’s marriage and the succession to the crown, had found a stern solution

¹ Cf. Stevenson’s Essay on the “English Admirals” in “*Virginibus Puerisque*,” and Creighton: “Queen Elizabeth,” *passim*.

in the political difficulties which became clear to all in 1580. In that year, with Papal approval and Spanish furtherance, a plan was made to attack England through Ireland, through Scotland, and through conspiracy at home. The defeat of these endeavors and the execution of Mary Stuart cleared the way for the greater Spanish attack, the Invincible Armada.

And here the economic interest, long efficient in the affairs of the nation, becomes essential to the course of events. Under its stimulus politics rediscovered an old trinity, that of commerce, colonies and sea-power. For in the Tudor period a great change took place in the material life of England. Where men had formerly planted crops they now pastured sheep, whose wool was to busy increasing looms. Where once Walter of Henley had written a "Treatise on Husbandry" John Hales now published a "Discourse on the Common Weal." Hakluyt was compiling the "Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation," and a few years later Thomas Mun was to defend and spread a new theory of national economy by writing his "Discourse of Trade" and "England's Treasure by Forraign Trade."¹ During the sixteenth century the place long held by manorial agriculture was suffering encroachment

¹ Walter of Henley: "Le Dite de Hosebondrie" (edited by Lamond), London, 1890. Written during the XIII century. Cf. "Royal Hist. Soc. Trans." 1895, IX pp. 215-21. J. Hales: "A discourse of the common weal of this realm of England," (edited by Lamond), Cambridge, 1893. Written 1549; first published 1581. Cf. Cunningham in "Econ. Jour." December, 1893. Hakluyt's first edition appeared in 1589; the completed work was printed 1599-1600. Mun: "A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies," was printed in 1621 and republished in Purchas, Vol. I; "England's Treasure by Forraign Trade" was not published, however, till 1664.

by new national industrial and commercial interests; and the domestic economy of mediæval England was disappearing as the establishment of capital transformed the relations of land and labor. Great vistas were opening dimly to merchants in whom imagination and a spirit of adventure had been bred.

The craft guilds, weakened by internal divisions and external changes, were surrendering the control of industry itself into the hands of the government. Enactments such as the Statute of Apprentices (1563) became part of a legislative code whose rationale "was the deliberate pursuit of national power." Foreign commerce, once intermunicipal, became international. Chartered companies traded to all parts, each, however, under supervision and with carefully defined privileges or spheres of monopoly.¹ An economic theory arose which, overlooking subtler laws of credit, regarded a flourishing export trade and a treasure store at home as essential signs of national prosperity and safety. Shipbuilding and the training of sailors became a national occupation; and soon Bacon was to write that the "vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas."²

To draw to England, whether by arms or trade, the riches of America and Asia, became, therefore, a principle of the national economy. There followed

¹ Cf. Cunningham: "Growth of English Industry and Commerce" (Modern Times, pt. 2) Section VI, parts 1 and 2.

² Bacon: "Works," VI, p. 451.

naturally the establishment of plantations and factories. Yet this system was not developed in a year ; and I have gone beyond the limits of Elizabeth's reign to show you to what purpose this policy was destined. Our concern is with the evolution of this system rather than with its completion or full operation ; our special interest lies with the men who supported, indeed created, this policy. For as pioneers of trade and colonization, as forerunners of companies and corporations, there came men, half statesman, half pirate, who by their personal endeavors were to lay the foundations of England's greatness as an industrial and commercial power.

These Elizabethan seamen had been raiding to the Antipodes and the Spanish Main and plundering Spanish ships to such purpose that when the day of trial came Elizabeth found ready to her hand a fleet manned by crews, anxious to face the unequal odds offered by the Spanish Armada and able to assist the elements in a victory of supreme importance to our race. For a new England grew out of that great struggle, and the Queen, who had found the country "dispirited, divided and uncertain" saw toward the close of her reign a proud, united and confident people, possessed by a sense of national self-consciousness, which was to mark the age with a freshness and vigor all its own. The new England had found itself.

II.

Martin Pring was eight years old when the men of his race and in particular the men of his own shire,

Devon, went out to meet the Spanish fleet ; he was eleven when Sir Richard Grenville won death and everlasting glory in his fight off the Azores. As he came to manhood the older men were telling their tales of wild raids and rich plunder ; but the younger men talked of the new companies formed for the Russia, the Levant, the Barbary and the Guinea trades, of prospects of further discoveries, of colonization and of commerce ; yet young and old alike familiar with the Spanish Main and curious for the Spice Islands and the Norumbega shore. Small wonder then that Pring chose the sea ; but greater honor that amid such competition as the period forced he soon won his way to command. He gained the confidence of Richard Hakluyt, compiler of the "prose epic of the modern English nation," and of John Whitson, twice mayor of Bristol and four times member of Parliament, and thus the patronage of the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol. This was manifest when at the age of twenty-three Captain Pring was placed in charge of a venture to Virginia. It was in 1603, the year in which Francis Bacon was knighted and William Shakespere's play, the "Taming of the Shrew," was first enacted. In this year also the Queen died, as if for sign that a new age in English history was at hand.¹

¹ The Russia or Muscovy Co. was chartered in 1554; the Eastland Co. in 1579; the Levant or Turkey Co. in 1581; the Barbary or Morocco Co. in 1585; the first Guinea Co. in 1588; and the East India Co. in 1600. Cf. Cunningham: *op. cit.* "Modern Times" pt. I, pp. 234 *et seq.*; Cawston and Keane: "Early Chartered Companies." On the commerce and importance of Bristol at this time see Anderson: "Origin of Commerce," II, pp. 48, 106, 151-52. For biographical sketches of Whitson and Pring see "Dictionary of National Biography," and Brown: "Genesis of U.S.," II, pp. 972, 1052. Cf. also Pring: "Captaine Martin Pringe," p. 8. Martin Pring was probably born in the parish of Awliscombe near Honiton, Devon, in 1580.

Voyages to Virginia were large matters in those days ; but Captain Pring, as the record reads, was regarded as "a man very sufficient for the place." His destination was to be the northern part of Virginia, Norumbega as some called it, where during the century past some half a dozen known discoveries had been made by Englishmen. In 1527 John Rut had seen off Newfoundland a flock of French fishing-vessels ; and later John Hore of London had sailed after him. Thirty years were to pass and Ingram by his fantastic tales of a city of silver and crystal on the Penobscot gave the New England region the reputation of the land of Eldorado. Others followed and soon Sir Humphrey Gilbert, that flower of Elizabethan chivalry, gave up his life in an attempt to plant in Norumbega. A year after that melancholy event, in 1584, the Queen was pleased, as the result of a voyage by Amidas and Barlow to the southern coast, to name the whole region Virginia for herself and to bestow in conjunction with Parliament an ample patent for that country upon Sir Walter Raleigh. Then the struggle with Spain came on to engross English energies ; the Atlantic became the scene of a vast naval struggle ; and within four years the Spaniards had lost 800 ships. But a further attempt to plant in Virginia had again failed.

Yet many vessels had in the meantime crossed the ocean to the Banks to fish and to the mainland to get furs. Finally with larger purpose came Gosnold in 1602 and with him Bartholomew Gilbert. Their voyage led them in accordance with Verrazano's directions

by the direct passage to the main; then turning southward they made Cape Cod and at last Cuttyhunk in the Elizabeth Islands. With a store of sassafras root and cedar boards they returned to England only to lose their profits at the hands of Sir Walter Raleigh, promoter and monopolist. For he claimed the venture as an infringement of his patent, protesting also that the sudden dumping on the market of a full cargo of the root would greatly lower the price, which at that time ranged as high as twenty shillings the pound. This unauthorized attempt to plunder had for our purposes one merit in that, profiting by such example, the Bristol merchants, who were to father Pring's endeavors, first secured a license for the venture from Sir Walter. Further, Robert Salterne, who had been pilot to Gosnold, was engaged to go with Pring.¹

The account of this first voyage made by Pring to America, as published in Purchas, though credited to Pring is obviously not all by the same hand. In the first two paragraphs and the last Pring is referred to in the third person; and his own statements begin only with the departure from Milford Haven on April 10 and do not include the record of the home voyage. It seems probable that the relation reached Purchas

¹ Winsor: "Narrative and Critical History," III, pp. 169-218, especially pp. 173-174, 188-189. Pring: "Captaine Martin Pringe," pp. 16-18. Brown: op. cit. I, p. 26; II, pp. 896, 904; and "Dictionary of Nat. Biog.," see Gosnold, B. Gilbert and Pring. Brereton's and Archer's relation of Gosnold's voyage are in "Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll." 3rd series, VIII. Cf. De Costa in "Mag. of Am. Hist.," X, p. 146. One only of Gosnold's party saved his share by entering Raleigh's service; this was not Gosnold as Dr. De Costa has it, but Bartholomew Gilbert who in the year following lost his life in Chesapeake Bay. The statements in Bancroft: "Hist. of U. S.," (Orig. ed.), I, pp. 129-30, in Palfrey: "Hist. of New Eng.," I, pp. 73-75, and in Belknap: "Am. Biog.," II, pp. 228-37, appear to be in need of correction.

among Hakluyt's papers. There was also a Dutch abstract made of it by Gottfried and published by Van der Aa; this edition was embellished by a copper plate representing an Indian attack. The mistaken geographical interpretations which once obscured the history of this voyage have now been corrected and the identification with Plymouth Harbor of Whitson Bay, as Pring called his final haven in honor of the mayor of Bristol, has been so successfully accomplished by Dr. De Costa that it need not detain us at present.¹

The expedition consisted of two ships, the *Speedwell* of fifty tons and the *Discoverer* of half that burthen, the two manned by less than fifty crew; they were laden with "slight merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the Countrey," hats of divers colors, clothing, tools and lesser toys — beads and bells, looking-glasses and thimbles. By the voyagers the beauties of the Maine coast were well remarked, the value of the fisheries and of the lumber; but though small explorations were made in Casco Bay, the main purpose was not secured till good sassafras was found within Cape Cod. Here experiments in agriculture were made to discover the excellent quality of soil and climate, the abundance of fruit being a special cause of satisfaction. Here the Indians were seen first, dances were given for them, and all went well till near the end when a treacherous attack

¹ In addition to materials noted under the last footnote the main sources for this voyage are in Purchas: "His Pilgrimes," IV, pp. 1654-56; V., p. 829. Salterne's relation is given in J. Smith: "General Historie of Virginia," (Arber's reprint), p. 336. Cf. De Costa in "Mag. of Am. Hist.," VIII, pp. 807 *et seq.*, 840, *et seq.*, and in "New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.," XXXII, pp. 76 *et seq.*

on the voyagers was attempted. On this occasion two great mastiffs brought from England were useful in dispersing the savages. The sassafras root with which both ships were laden was highly esteemed at this time in England as a remedy for serious plagues and fever and was sometimes called the ague root. By October all were safely home, bringing profit and information to the patrons of the venture.

Voyages such as this showed that the day of Hawkins and Drake had passed for America; that the buccaneers were becoming merchants; that plantations would soon take the place of piracy and that a new England bent on commercial advancement and colonial expansion was now in the making. Indeed, what may possibly be direct indication of this change is to be found in the use by Pring of the *Speedwell*, a west of England pinnace. A vessel of the same name and tonnage, hailing from the same part of England, was in Sir Francis Drake's fleet employed by him in 1587 for that characteristic raid in Cadiz, which he described as "singeing the beard of the King of Spain." Furthermore Drake had under his command in the fight with the Armada in the next year a ship of approximately the same tonnage, also called the *Speedwell*, Hugh Hardinge, Master, apparently one of many merchantmen which either were volunteered or were chartered for special service. It seems fair to assume that the same boat is referred to in 1587 and 1588 and if so the question of her identity with Pring's ship becomes the more interesting. In any event, that two or perhaps three ships whose similarity is so

marked as to suggest possible identity should have been put to this variety of employment within sixteen years (1587-1603) is significant of the change taking place in all England.¹

Pring's next great voyage was to the Guiana coast in 1604 as master in the Phoenix of Charles Leigh's ill-fated expedition. In turning thus from Virginia to Guiana Pring gives further proof of his lineage. For Sir Walter Raleigh was to show the interests of his time by likewise transferring his ventures from the Chesapeake to the Orinoco. Pring was drawn in the later Elizabethan manner. Those of you who are fortunate enough to retain clear memories of "Westward Ho!" that finest of Elizabethan tales, will recall the dangers and privations endured by the wanderers in South American forests. To such the story of the reckless yet gallant ventures, the terrible sufferings and pitiful rescue of Charles Leigh's party, will afford an interesting parallel. It is all written out in the fourth volume of Purchas. Pring, however, showed himself to be more sensible if less loyal than others; for when he found that despite of the climate, the lack of victuals and the desperate character of the endeavor, Leigh was firm to colonize, he led a party in mutiny and finally was quit of the whole matter by

¹Laughton: "The Spanish Armada," II, pp. 182, 326. The variations in measurement of tonnage make it possible to disregard a difference of ten tons, p. 323. Clowes: "Hist. of Royal Navy," I, pp. 423, 487, 501. Corbett: "Drake and the Tudor Navy," II, p. 68 n. Oppenheim: "Adm. of the Royal Navy," pp. 120, 123, 139, 160, 163, 202, 203, 214, 251 n. The two pinnaces mentioned in the text should not be confused with the galley Speedwell, built at Woolwich in 1559 and carried on the navy list till 1579, nor with the 400-ton Speedwell to be found on the navy list of James I; she was formerly the Swiftsure, rebuilt in 1607, but was lost near Flushing in November, 1624. The use of private vessels by the government was frequent; in 1588 there were 163 not on the royal navy list but either in pay or in use for the struggle in the Channel.

sailing home in an Amsterdam ship that chanced on that coast. The rest of the party were with difficulty persuaded to remain, and within two years Leigh himself and many more were dead of disease and want; others were in Spanish prisons, and less than a dozen out of the whole ship's company returned direct to England.

These events, however, did not in any way affect Pring's reputation, if we may judge of it by his next employment. This was at the hands of Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. At his appointment Pring was to make a second voyage to North America and to spend some weeks in a careful examination of the Maine coast. The purpose of this expedition, moreover, was no mere matter of cedar boards or sassafras root. It resulted in fact from a carefully reasoned plan of colonization bred in the mind of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth, by earnest talk held by him with certain Pemaquid Indians. These Captain Waymouth had brought back in 1605 from St. George's Harbor. As Sir Ferdinando later wrote—these savages were "the means, under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations."²

¹ Purchas: IV, pp. 1253 *et seq.*, 1260. Cf. Brown: *op. cit.*, I, p. 27; II, p. 937. A relief expedition sent in 1605 by Sir Olive Leigh to his brother, Captain Charles Leigh, in Gulana, never reached there. Capt. Leigh died March 20, 1605. On July 2 he had written to the Privy Council in England that he was "resolved to remain with 40 men and return the rest for England. The natives desire that he will send for men to teach them to pray. Doubts not but God hath a wonderful work in this simple-hearted people. Beseeches the Council to send over well-disposed preachers." Cal. State Papers, Colonial, America: Vol. I, (1574-1660) p. 5.

² Gorges: "Advancement of Plantations," p. 50. For Waymouth see "Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.," 3rd series, VIII; Burrage in "Gorges Soc. Publ.," 1887. For Popham see "Dict. of Nat. Biog." and Brown: *op. cit.*, II, p. 969.

As a preliminary private colonization was abandoned, and in April, 1606, a charter passed the royal seals for the incorporation of two companies to colonize in Virginia. For the "plantation and habitation" of the northern part of Virginia, as the charter reads, "sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other Adventurers of our cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our Town of Plimouth" were empowered to send out an expedition.¹ Sir John Popham, who had himself probably drawn the first draft of this charter, chose in October of the same year, Captain Martin Pring, a Devonshire man, to join in this Devonshire venture and to make a voyage to America. There Pring was to meet Captain Challons (or Challoung), who had already sailed in August with special directions from Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Together they were to choose a site for the new colony. These arrangements, however, miscarried; for Challons failed to reach the rendezvous. He had been instructed to cross to Cape Breton and then to follow the coast southward till he should find a suitable location and meet with Pring near the entrance to Penobscot Bay. But contrary winds forced him from the northern routes to the West Indies; after several delays at Porto Rico his ship was seized by the Spanish authorities and he and a part of his ship's company were carried prisoners to Spain.²

¹ MacDonald: "Select Charters," pp. 1-11.

² Purchas: IV, pp. 1832 *et seq.*; "Cal. State Papers," Col. Am., Vol. I, (1574-1660) p. 6; Brown: *op. cit.*, I, pp. 64, 96, 98, 127. Strachey in his "Historie of Travaille into Virginia," p. 163, is responsible for the statement that Pring was captured by the Spanish, thus confusing Challons and Pring.

Captain Pring, on the other hand, who had the same instructions as did Challons, happily arrived on the Maine coast. He had with him one of Waymouth's Indians, Damheda by name; and not hearing by any means what had become of Challons he began to explore. To quote again from Gorges: Pring "after he had made a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors he was informed of by his instructions, (the season of the year requiring his return) brings with him the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands since; and indeed he was the best able to perform it of any I ever met withal to this present, which with his relation of the same wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice and us all that were his associates that notwithstanding our first disaster we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect and that upon better grounds for as yet our authority was but in motion."¹ Earlier in the "Brief Relation of the President and Council of New England" [1622] a similar statement had been made, to wit — that on hearing Pring's relation of this voyage "the lord chief justice, and we all waxed so confident of the business, that the year following (1607) every man of any worth formerly interested in it was willing to join in the charge for the sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation."² As the result, therefore, of Pring's encouraging information and despite Challons' failure, Sir John Popham "failed

¹ Gorges: "Advancement of Plantations," pp. 51-53.

² "Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.," 2nd Series, IX, p. 3.

not to interest many of the lords and others to be petitioners to his Majesty for his royal authority, for setting two plantations upon the coast of America."¹ What success this further attempt to colonize in Maine met with I leave to the historians of the Sagadahoc settlement to relate.

For our purposes let me point out to you, first, that it was only because Challons failed to obey his orders that Pring was unable to share in the honor of founding the first English settlement on the mainland of New England; second, that failing this, Pring was nevertheless the instrument by which the plan gained perseverance to another attempt; and lastly, that in the opinion of Gorges, writing many years later out of a full experience of men and affairs, Pring was of all the men of that manly time the ablest in discovery and relation. This relation unfortunately has been lost, but other explorers made use of it, for on a map drawn by the King's surveyor in 1610 are many places marked by virtue of Pring's knowledge. His name of Whitson Bay is shown thereon, for it was not till four years later that the Dutch suggested Crane Bay and Captain John Smith fixed on Plymouth Harbor as a name for the roadstead first discovered in 1603 by their predecessor, the Bristol captain.²

III.

If all this be so you may well ask why we hear nothing more of Captain Pring in the further exploration

¹ Gorges: *op. cit.*, p. 53.

² De Costa in "Mag. Am. Hist.," VIII, pp. 555 *et seq.*; Brown: *op. cit.*, I, pp. 99, 457-59.

and colonization of New England. The answer is to be found in the widening interests of Englishmen. The partial closing of the old trade routes between Asia and Europe during the fifteenth century and the burdensome restrictions and costly tariffs laid on eastern trade had well nigh precipitated an economic crisis. Asiatic trade had for centuries been one of the most profitable as well as one of the most extensive of commercial investments; and the supply of spices from the oriental tropics had become a necessity both for the preservation of food and to render it palatable to the gastronomic taste of Europe. The northern peoples do not seem to have been attracted by the possibilities of unseasoned vegetarianism; and fashion of flavors as well as the lack of satisfactory methods of refrigeration in southern Europe made the situation there even more acute. Nor did the prospect grow better as the close of the century came nearer. For while the Ottoman advance had partially closed the routes which opened on the Black and Ægean Seas, the unsettled condition of Syria made trade uncertain by the Persian routes. The Red Sea route, so long the golden channel of Muslim monopoly, might have sufficed had it not been for the mistaken policy of the independent Mamluk sultans of Egypt. As early as 1428 these inaugurated a heavy tariff on oriental goods bound for Italian ports and made pepper a state monopoly. Other spices were soon added and even sugar was subjected to close growth and manufacture. By 1443 the opinions of the theological jurists of Cairo

had been secured in defence of the system; and to-day it seems doubtful whether the Ottoman conquest of Egyptian dominions (1516-17) had immediately much worse results for this intercontinental trade than had already followed the policy of the Circassian dynasty.¹

These facts were in large part responsible for the rapid geographical advance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The disappearance of domestic economy and the restoration of capitalism required larger fields for investment and at the same time urged on the search for new supplies of bullion. While these operated generally the geographical situation, the religious feeling and the traditional political policy of Portugal were such as to make the success of her sailors in African waters a natural sequent to her history. The stimulus thus derived

¹ For suggestive comment on the spice trade *vide* Robinson: "Western Europe," p. 348. The economic policy of the Mamluk sovereigns is referred to in Muir: "The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt," pp. 142, 153. Though of uncertain value because of changes in money values, the price of pepper in England is worth noting: 1412, pepper was 4s. a pound, though in 1411 Parliament had fixed the price at 1s. 8d. In this year a pound of standard silver was worth £1 10s. 0d. (Cotton: "Abridgement," p. 482; Walshingham, p. 381, quoted by Macpherson: "Annals," IV, App. II and III). In 1512 with silver about 10s. a pound higher, pepper was 1s. 4d. In 1559 it was 2d. an ounce and silver was at £3; in 1598 near Christmas, pepper was 8s. a pound (Stowe: "Annales," p. 130). Between 1597 and 1599 the Dutch had raised the price from 3 to 6s. a pound on pepper which probably had not cost more than 6d. Macpherson: "Commerce with India," pp. 77, 82; Birdwood: "Old Records" (ed. 1891), p. 199; Hunter: "British India," I, pp. 241, 279. I have chosen pepper because it was one of the cheapest spices but very generally used. The rapid rise in the price of pepper at the close of the sixteenth century is paralleled by that of other more expensive spices. It is evident that both Macpherson and Birdwood believe it was the immediate cause of the meetings on September 22 and 24, 1599, of certain London merchants which led to the chartering of a British East India Co. Cf. Stevens: "Dawn of British Trade," pp. 1-7. Both the influence of English participation in the spice trade and the great profit from it can be seen from the prices given by Malynes in his "Center of the Circle of Commerce" (1623) quoted by Cawston and Keane: "Chartered Companies," p. 96.

	Cost in the Indies per lb.	Sold in England per lb.
Pepper	0s. 2½d.	1s. 8d.
Cloves	0 9	5 0
Nutmegs	0 4	3 0
Mace	0 8	6 0

carried them to a greater achievement by the end of the fifteenth century and once in Asiatic waters they were able to deprive the Arabs of the monopoly of the spice trade. At the same time the Portuguese did not attempt the distribution of oriental products in Europe. The profitable trade of the middleman fell to the Dutch. It followed that the submersion of Portuguese interests in those of Spain aroused both Dutch and English to a further realization of the limitations they had hitherto endured. While the independent search for northeastern and northwestern passages to the East was not abandoned, the desire to use the Cape of Good Hope route closed to determination by the end of the sixteenth century. The search under Spanish auspices for a free route to Asia had already led to an unintentional and for a time unconscious discovery of America, as the new world was afterwards called. But Europe then fronted not to the Atlantic but to Asia; for many years men were to seek the "backside of America" where lay the "Kingdomes of Cataya or China"; and in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign the chartering of the East India Company marked the inauguration of a policy, which though new in form, was intimately related with many of the previous American ventures. English merchants now asked for more than uncertain piracy in the West; they hoped to develop a regular commercial intercourse with the East.¹

¹The instructions of the East India Co. to Waymouth in April, 1602, for his American voyage in search of a passage to Asia, contain the following passage — "or as he shall fynde the Passage best to lye towards the parts or kingedomes of Cataya or China or ye backside of America." Stevens: "Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies," p. 212.

Were all the other years of Elizabeth's reign a blank in our history, the granting of the charter for the East India Company would nevertheless make her reign a landmark in the history of the world. For this company, the greatest corporation the world has ever seen, was destined to work a change in modern world-politics to which that resulting from the establishment and development of the United States is alone comparable. Indeed the connection of these imperial merchants with the creation of English establishments in America is in some respects so close that it is surprising greater attention has not been given to it. Many whose names are familiar to students of our colonial period figure in the early operations of the British in Asia; and American ventures often served to train the men who were to lay the foundations of British Empire in the East. Among those who responded to this broadening of the field of British activities and thus transferred their interests from America to Asia was Captain Pring.

IV.

The exact year in which Pring entered the East India service is unknown. Possibly it was soon after the death, in 1607, of his former patron, the Lord Chief Justice. The first certain mention we find is of his appointment as master of a large new ship, in 1614. It is perhaps doubtful whether he would have got so important a post were that to be his first venture in Asiatic waters; however, no mention of him as going to sea under the auspices of any recognized

authority from 1606 to 1614 has been as yet discovered. Pring's new ship was the New Year's Gift, of 550 tons, "armed and strongly built for trade or war," bound then to India on her maiden voyage. She was to act as the flag of a squadron of four ships making in that year the first voyage of the newly-formed "joint stock."¹

From 1600 to 1612 the trade of the East India Company had been carried on by a series of so-called separate voyages. One or more ships would be outfitted as a distinct venture and the accounts of each fleet would be kept separate. Such an expedition was theoretically complete in itself and on the return the profits of each venture were divided among those of the Company who had supplied the capital. In 1612, however, a system of joint stock subscriptions was proposed by which several voyages during a number of years were made possible by largely increased investments. The first attempt under this system resulted in a capitalization of £429,000 of which this first voyage of the joint stock represented an investment of £106,000. Eighteen thousand eight hundred and ten pounds in money and £12,446 in goods were exported; and the cost of ships, the maintenance, the supplies and the extraordinary expenses involved represented the remainder. While the average profit for four voyages, 1613-1616, was

¹ This voyage is sometimes called the second, and though it did not sail till 1614 is technically the "voyage of 1613." "Letters Received by the E. I. Co." III, pp. 175, 326; Markham: "Voyages of Sir James Lancaster," Hakluyt Soc. Publ., Vol. LVI, p. 15; Hunter: "Hist. British India," I, p. 307; "Cal. of State Papers, Colonial E. I., (1613-1616)," p. 270. On Jan. 17, 1614, ("Court Minutes of E. I. Co."): "Thirty great ordinance for the New Year's Gift." Pring condemned for not having performed his promise to lie on board."

to be 87½ per cent. on £429,000, the dividends on the voyage of 1613 were to be 120 per cent. and Pring's cargo which had cost £9,000 in the East was to be sold in England for £80,000.¹

The profits were great but so also was the risk. The Company, however, took every possible precaution, and to make this particular investment as sure as might be had placed in command Nicholas Downton, a tried man who had served with distinction as second to Sir Henry Middleton on the sixth separate voyage, in 1610.² Downton's instructions gave him ample power for the maintenance of discipline; and, though he was directed to seek no quarrel with European competitors on the other side the Cape, he was charged to "suffer no spoyle to be made of any goods or merchandize" committed to his care, and, if attacked because of the "emulation and envye which doth accompanye the discouerye of Countryes and trades," to defend the pretensions and desires of the English as best he might.³

Such language was to the point; for then, as later in the eighteenth century, small attention was paid by Europeans in either Asia or America to the diplomatic agreements of the home countries. Peace in Europe was often no check to rivalry and bloodshed in foreign establishments. As in the West England was to struggle for commercial and political supremacy with Spain and France, she was already the rival

¹ Bruce: "Annals," I, pp. 166-7; Hunter: *op. cit.*, I, p. 307.

² "Letters Received by the E. I. Co.," I, pp. 155-92, *passim*, and pp. 241-51; "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I., (1513-1616)," Nos. 629, 653.

³ Birdwood and Foster: "First Letter Book," pp. 449-52.

in the East of Portugal and Holland. In India and the Far East native states and rulers were being drawn into these quarrels; and there was likely to be as much of diplomacy and war as of seamanship and trade in the successful conduct of a voyage to Asiatic waters. In India the Mughal Empire, no longer ruled by an Akbar, was nevertheless still strong enough to check the pest of eager European seekers for the spoil of a peninsula, richer in that day than many a continent. An Englishman must still be a beggar for permission to trade in the domain of the great Muhammadan state, while foreign rivals, whether by intrigue or open attack, sought to make the task harder. The first stage in the struggle for privilege was to pass in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Portugal was to give way to England, thus leaving for a time the Dutch as sole rivals of power to contest for the trade of India with the merchants of London.

In 1612 Captain Best had made a running fight of near a month against the vastly superior forces of the Portuguese, and in that time had broken in the minds of the natives "the reputation the Portuguese had won in India by the sea achievements of a hundred years."¹ But the issue was still in doubt; a defeat would lose the English all they had gained and they well knew that Portugal would not abandon her primacy and monopoly without a stubborn fight. It

¹ Hunter: *op. cit.*, I, p. 303. Despatches describing this fight are to be found in "Letters Received by the E. I. Co.," I, pp. 233 *et seq.*; II, p. 155; Purchas: I, pp. 459 *et seq.*, 482 *et seq.*; "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1513-1616)," Nos. 638, 640. The accounts in Low: "Indian Navy," I, pp. 13-14; Clowes: "Royal Navy," II, pp. 33-34, have been corrected in Hunter. Cf. Bruce: "Annals," I, p. 163.

could, therefore, have been with no surprise that Downton heard, soon after his squadron reached the Swally roads, off Surat, that the Portuguese viceroy at Goa was equipping a great force against him.¹

Surat was then the headquarters for the English trade in the Mughal Empire; but the Company's hold on the native governor was slight and the Emperor's policy was itself uncertain and largely dependent on the outcome of the immediate future. A brief explanation of the exact situation will make this clearer. The victory of Captain Best in 1612 and the favorable reception thus won by the English had grieved the Portuguese, who in revenge had in September, 1613, taken a native ship of Surat, lately come from the Red Sea, "being richly laden, almost to the value of a hundred thousand pounds, and carried her away, and almost 700 persons in her; by which means none of them [the Portuguese] dare appear in those parts as they were wont, insomuch that had we [the English] shipping here now from England we should strike all dead," because this conduct "hath made them odious" to the natives.² Jahangir, the Emperor, retaliated by causing Daman, a Portuguese post, to be besieged by Mukarrab Khan, the local governor, and by giving "order for the seizure of all Portugals and their goods within his king-

¹ Hunter: (I, p. 308 n.) states that the journal of Pring's ship, the *New Year's Gift*, is still preserved in the India Office "Marine Records," 1605-1701. For the voyage to India and the movements of this ship (March, 1614-spring of 1616) see Purchas: I, pp. 500 *et seq.*, 516, 629; "Letters Received, etc.," Vols. II, III and IV; and "Cal. State Papers, Col. (1513-1616)" *passim*, by index references to the name.

² Aldworth to Marlowe, Nov. 9, 1613, "Letters Received, etc.," I, p. 308. Cf. Danvers: "Portuguese in India," II, p. 162. States the ship belonged to the Emperor.

doms." Their churches were closed, and "Xavier, the great Jesuit, whom before he loved," was dismissed; and other Indian rulers were incited to attack Portuguese establishments. The English in the meantime were in great favor. But since no English ships came to trade, the natives soon longed for peace and doubted "whether it were not wiser to yield to the viceroy's demands and expel the English." Such was the temper of the times when Downton cast anchor, in October, 1614. Great was the joy of the English agents; and eager the wish of Mukarrab Khan to use Downton's force for the war against the Portuguese. But Downton, mindful of his instructions, would not agree, and the situation became even more difficult. Finally the knot was cut by the attack of the Portuguese; and Downton once fairly on the defence made ready to fight for the hope of English leadership in western India.¹

The English squadron of four ships, with 400 crew, carried 80 guns, but their caliber was inferior to that of the Portuguese armaments. The viceroy, Don Hierome de Azevedo, had under his command the entire naval strength of Portuguese India, assembled for this struggle, consisting of eight galleons, five lesser ships and sixty "frigates" or rowed barges carrying thirty fighting men apiece and eighteen oars on a side. The whole was manned by native crews

¹ "Letters Received, etc.," II, pp. 18, 96 *et seq.*, 104, 130, 137-39, 148 *et seq.*, 156, 167-172, 178, 185. The Jesuit, Xavier, is not, of course, Francis Xavier, (Cal. State Papers, E. I., (1513-1616) No. 763), as the editor of "Letters Received, etc.," (II, p. 96 and index at Xavier) appears to think. He was probably Jerome Xavier, a nephew of St. Francis; at least a priest of that name was for long a favorite at the court of Akbar. Yule: "Cathay and the Way Thither," II, pp. 532, 552.

to the number of 6,000, with 2,600 Europeans free to work the 134 guns which the fleet mounted.¹ This force began to assemble in the end of December and by January 18, 1615, Downton's small fleet was well-nigh blockaded in the Tapti Estuary (apparently in what is known to-day as Sutherland Channel.) The odds were those which would have appealed to Sir Richard Grenville. Downton had decided at the council held aboard the *New Year's Gift* to await attack near the shallower waters of the roadstead where the larger Portuguese ships would be at a disadvantage; but in this he must have acted contrary to the bolder judgment of Pring, who later wrote of his regret in having been caught at Swally, agreeing with Sir Thomas Roe that it would have been better to have forced a passage to open sea and there in a "more spacious place" have beaten the Portugalles like a man.²

However that may be, Downton, if not reckless, was far-sighted enough to realize the import of the whole matter. For he wrote in his diary: "My care is not

¹Purchas: I, pp. 505 *et seq.*, 519; "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. 1513-1616," No. 935; "Letters Received, etc.," II, p. 137; Clowes: "Royal Navy," II, p. 35; Low: "Indian Navy," I, p. 19, who follows Orme: "Oriental Fragments." Orme follows Purchas and the account by Faria de Souza; by the latter is apparently meant Manuel Faria y Sousa: "Asia Portuguesa, 3 Vols., 1674. This work is largely based on Barros and Couto: "Decadas, etc." An English translation by Stevens was made in 1695 of Sousa with much omitted. (Whiteway: "Rise of Portuguese Power in India," p. 14.) Danvers: "Portuguese in India," II, pp. 170-171; though no authorities are cited Danvers has evidently depended largely on Portuguese sources, and offers some explanation of the discrepancies found elsewhere as to numbers. Two fleets united in the attack on Downton, and this is not noted elsewhere. In Hunter: "Hist. of British India," I, p. 321, Low is followed, but the statement of 234 guns for the Portuguese is obviously a misprint. Unfortunately, the Portuguese authorities are not at hand to enable me to follow the statements further. The superiority of the Portuguese fleet is, however, beyond question. I have taken the figures given by Purchas and modified them somewhat by other sources.

²Foster: "Sir Thomas Roe," II, p. 417 n.

small, how to do my best in maintaining the Honour of my Country, not negligent in the memory of the estates and charge of friends and employers in this journey; not only for the hazard of this at present committed to my charge but also all hope of future times, if I should now be overthrown; by reason the enemy in getting the upper hand of me would make his peace with these people upon what he lust to the expelling my nation this country forever." Two things, however, he continued, were his comfort at this juncture: "My people, though much with death and sickness shortened, all from the highest to the lowest seems very courageous and comfortable and ever as I could be solitary I craved very earnestly aide and assistance from the Lord of hosts and from that mighty and merciful God who hath manifold wayes formerly delivered me, often I say, desiring his Majesty so to guide and direct me that I might omit nothing which might tend to the safety of my owne charge nor the danger of the enemy and that God would grant my request I had a strong confidence."¹

On January 20 the fighting began and so skillful were the English captains in the handling of their vessels and so accurate was the English gun fire that the viceroy drew off with heavy losses. A blockade of nearly three weeks followed till with reinforcements the Portuguese on February 8 came driving up on the flood against the English fleet, only to make away again as fast as they might from the

¹ Purchas: op. cit. I, p. 506.

deadly fire of Downton's guns. Two days later the viceroy fell off in disgust, and on February 13 the Armada sailed away and soon was seen no more. It was a victory dearly bought, for many English had died of disease and wounds. On February 3 Downton had been compelled to write in his diary: "It pleased God this day at night when I had least leisure to mourn to call to his mercy my only son"; and not many months later a tropical fever set free the Admiral to follow his son.¹

The death of Downton was at Bantam where the New Year's Gift had gone for spices. This was Pring's introduction to a region he was soon to know better, but his orders on this occasion required him to return to England. The success of the venture was great; political, military and commercial ends had all been well served. Mughal dominions had been saved from Portuguese pilfering; the sea power of England had been valiantly maintained, and the Company's profits were beyond the usual high average.²

¹ Purchas, I, pp. 506 *et seq.*; "Letters received by the E. I. Co." etc., II, pp. 296, 302, 303; III, pp. 15, 22, 23, 26 (Downton to Sir Thomas Smythe, Feb. 23, 1614 (1615)). He makes criticisms on his command, saying they had not known what to do. "I acknowledge your care in preparing ordnance, powder and shot, but no way like your choice of people to use them," pp. 44, 48 *et seq.* 55, 71, 170, 300. Low: "Indian Navy," I, pp. 20-23, quoting largely from Orme: "Oriental Fragments," pp. 346-56. Hunter: "Hist. of British India," I, pp. 323 *et seq.* Clowes: "Royal Navy," II, p. 35. For Jahangir's pleasure at the defeat of the Portuguese cf. "Waki' at-l Jahangiri" in Elliot: "Hist. of India," VI, p. 340.

² "Cal. State Papers E. I. (1513-1616)" Nos. 1011, 1022, 1055, 1091, 1124, 1127, 1130, 1187. "Letters received, etc.," III, pp. 95, 149, 170, 173 (it had at first been the intention of the Company to detach the New Year's Gift and send her to Japan in 1615), 174. The voyage home from Bantam to England (Dec. 21, 1615—July, 1616) may be traced in the following despatches: pp. 180, 210, 230, 232, 257, 259, 261, 266, 268, 272, 294, 295, 297, 300, 315, 317, 337, and "Cal. State Papers" as above. No. 1130. Bruce: "Annals," I, pp. 171-74. Details as to the movements of the Gift and her lading are also to be found in "Letters received, etc.," IV, pp. 25, 29, 30, 34, 66, 121, 278, 291 *et seq.* Markham: "Voyages of Sir James Lancaster," p. 266. Cf. also pp. 295 *et seq.*

V.

That Pring had served with credit in the eyes of the Company may be judged by his appointment in 1617 to the government of a new squadron which was to make the fifth voyage for the joint stock. Here he had the *James Royal* of a thousand tons as his flagship. Besides were two ships nearly as large and two others smaller. These five set sail from the Downs the first of March, 1617. The outward voyage was attended with some peril, as off the Arabian coast the *James* sprang a leak which was with difficulty stopped. While the flagship was thus disabled the other vessels were nevertheless able to capture a Portuguese ship from Mozambique laden with "elephants' teeth," as ivory was then called. Moreover, what was important, they took two English ships, interlopers in these waters, who had had in chase a native craft belonging to the Emperor's mother. It soon appeared that these two English vessels had been outfitted to prey on Spanish shipping. This had been at the orders of Lord Robert Rich, soon to be the Earl of Warwick. He had been importuned to this end by his friend, Count Scarnafissi, ambassador in London of the Duke of Savoy who was at the time at war with the King of Spain. These ships were then privateers flying a neutral flag; moreover, what was far worse—they were within the Company's monopoly. They had further imperiled the Company's interests by their thoughtless greed in attacking a merchant vessel belonging to the imperial court.

They were, therefore, promptly confiscated by Pring's orders.¹

The consequences of this act, though for the most part beyond the scope of this paper, may serve to illustrate the more or less close connection which at this time existed between the East India and Virginia Companies. In London was Sir Thomas Smythe, merchant and man of affairs, Governor of the East India Company and likewise Treasurer of the Virginia Company. His young son had recently, against the will of the father, been married to Lady Isabella Rich, a sister to Lord Robert Rich, the owner of at least one of the captured vessels. Bad feeling between the two families had thus been bred. The news from India was not calculated to make either Sir Thomas Smythe or Lord Robert Rich more friendly; for when Lord Robert made urgent complaint to the Governor of the Company concerning the capture of his ship by Captain Pring, the

¹ "Letters received by the E. I. Co.," III, p. 326. Pring's journal of the voyage is in Purchas: op. cit., I, pp. 618, 631 *et seq.* Cf. also his letter to the Company from Swally Roads, Nov. 12, 1617, in "Letters received, etc.," VI, pp. 171-8, in which one of the interloping ships is stated to have been owned by Philip Barnadi, an Italian merchant of London. Pring comments on the capture (p. 174): "I praise God with all my heart that we lighted so on them, for if they had taken the junk and known to be English (which could not long have been concealed) all your goods in this country could not have made satisfaction according to their desire (and that is commonly their law in these cases)." In a letter from Kerridge and Rastel, factors at Surat, to the Company, (Ibid, pp. 158, 164) much the same is said, though one ship is said to have been owned in the name of the Duke of Florence. Still another account is by Edward Monnox, who came out as factor in Pring's fleet, pp. 269 *et seq.* For further references to Pring's voyage and his activities off Surat see pp. 95, 107, 112, 114, 120, 122, 129, 137, 146, 149, 151, 156, 163, 166, 177, 215, 218, 278. The voyage and the above events may also be followed, though in less satisfactory fashion, in the "Cal. of State Papers, Col., E. I. (1617-1621)." Here care should be taken not to confuse the operations of the James under Capt. Childs and the James Royal under Capt. Pring; the index is not always clear. The references to Pring in the index are correct; of these the more important are to be found in Nos. 154, 162, 186, 187, 193, 302. Sir Thomas Roe wrote of the capture of the English rovers, "if shee (the Queen Mother's ship) had bin taken, we had all bin in trouble." Foster: "Roe," II, pp. 420 n., 421, 480.

Company, determined both by its own interests and by the wishes of the Governor, supported Pring's action against those two marauding rovers and refused to grant the damages demanded. So hot did the action become that Lord Robert brought the case before the Privy Council and to the King's attention; and in the end the whole matter was referred to arbitration. In the meantime, however, by way of personal revenge, Lord Robert, who was himself a man of influence in colonial affairs, set to work to oust Sir Thomas Smythe and his friends from control of the funds of the Virginia Company. At the next meeting of that Company in April, 1619, the party of Lord Robert all gave their votes to an independent and victorious candidate, one Sir Edwin Sandys, that he might be Treasurer of the Virginia Company in succession to the candidate set up by Sir Thomas Smythe, who himself had not wished to continue in office. The result, however, was much to the astonishment of all. In this fashion was Sir Edwin Sandys given office in the management of the colony of Virginia, to what results for the benefit of the colony and for the directing of its future history I leave the readers of Virginia records to recall.¹

¹ "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1617-21)" Nos. 193, 230, 267, 302, 467, 532, 557, 567, 591, 594, 666, 772, 774, 778, 781, 783, 801, 810, 823, 825, 829, and many others to be found noted in the index. Cf. also pp. LXXVI-LXXX.

"Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Lords' Papers," p. 19. Gardiner: "Hist. of England," III, p. 216. "Cal. State Papers, Dom. (1619-1623)," Nos. 2, 67. "Cal. State Papers, Col. (1574-1660)" Nos. 44, 51. Brown: "Genesis of United States," II, pp. 980, 1014. "Dict. Nat. Biog.," see "Rich" and "Smythe." Cf. "Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.," 4th Series, III, pp. 36, 37. The full bearing of the election is not recognized in Nellis: "Virginia Company," pp. 143-45, 151. Foster: "Roe," II, pp. 240 n., and "Letters received by E. I. Co.," VI, p. XXIX, contain brief summaries with some of the above references.

On turning once more to Pring's career in the east, one of the most significant episodes in his biography is to be found in his relationship to Sir Thomas Roe, British ambassador to the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir. Roe was the first British diplomat sent east by the Cape and won for himself great fame by able conduct in a post of extreme difficulty. He gave Pring, an old friend, warm welcome when the *James Royal* arrived off the Indian coast early in the autumn of 1617; and his testimony to Pring's worth is full the equal of that given by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. I quote from Roe's letter of welcome to Pring, written October 5, 1617: "Honest Man, God, that Knowes my hart, wittnesse you are the welcomest man to this Country that Could here arriue to assist my many troubles."¹ Four months later to the Company in London he also wrote that Pring "now by his great Modesty and discretion hath both reformed many abuses, gayned you much good will, himselfe all mens loue and his owne Credit. An honester man I suppose you cannot send, and that his Actions will approue: one that Studies your endes, is ready to ioyne with any, without insisting vpon disputes and tearmes."² To another he wrote: "Captain Pring is every way sufficient and discreet."³ The quotations might be further continued.

Together Roe and Pring concerted measures for the final ousting of the Portuguese, for the extension

¹ Foster: "Roe," II, p. 421.

² Ibid, II, p. 468.

³ "Letters received, etc.," VI, p. 120. Cf. also pp. 136, and 151 *et seq.*

of British influence and trade in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and Persia, and for keener competition with the Dutch. Against the latter Roe frankly advocated a piratical policy in order thereby to give the English a monopoly in Asiatic waters.¹ Yet in the midst of this planning we find at times the burden of a lonely responsibility weighing heavily on a mind perplexed by oriental duplicity. Thus passages such as the following to Pring are frequent in Roe's letters: "Wee liue in a Barbarous unfaythfull place; you in the sea with more securitie and Constancye. Pray for Vs, that God wilbe Pleased to keepe vs, that among heathens wee may bee as light in darknes; at least that wee shame not the light."² And again in a farewell letter: "I am reddy to breake for want of an honnest free conference God in heaven blesse you and send me once among men, for these are monsters."³ It was the weight of an imperial burden still unrealized that lay heavy on unaccustomed shoulders.

On his departure from India Pring sailed for Jacatra on the island of Java and off Bantam joined his fleet to that of Sir Thomas Dale, also of Virginia fame. During the autumn Pring endeavored to secure a favorable treaty from the king of Jacatra, but was not successful till early in January when the Dutch were no longer such powerful rivals.⁴ This was due

¹ "Letters received, etc.," VI, pp. 108, 112, 129, 151, *et seq.* "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1617-21)" Nos. 155, 156, 298. Foster: "Roe," I, pp. 128, 421, 429, 434; II, pp. 407 *et seq.*, 418, 466, *et seq.*, 470.

² Foster: "Roe," II, p. 490. Roe offers to assist Pring with the Company.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 502.

⁴ "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1617-21)" Nos. 245, 423, 424, 444, 447, 477.

to the attack made on the Dutch by both fleets under Dale on December 23, 1618, in Jacatra Bay. It was a desperate engagement and much disputed, both sides claiming the victory; the Dutch, however, sailed away. Pring wrote home that the fight "continued about three hours, in which time the English shot above 1200 great shot from six ships. Chased the Dutch the next day through the Bay of Jacatra insight of their castle." Dale wrote home that it had been "'a cruel bloody fight'; 3000 great shot fired; many men maimed and slain on both sides, but the Dutch had four times as many slain and maimed as the English; three of the Dutch ships reported to be sunk; knows not how true it is, but is sure they were soundly banged."¹

This fight was one of a long series of bloody struggles between Dutch and English for the spice trade of Malaya. After cruising from January to March and suffering severely by disease and damage of the shipping, both fleets met again at Masulipatam. There reports reached them that the Dutch were once more at work and threatening to drive the English out of the islands; and there on August 9 Sir Thomas Dale died, leaving Pring in supreme command. A short time afterwards the factor at Masulipatam wrote home that he could not "sufficiently commend the present commander, Captain Pring." The condition of the fleet,

¹ "Cal. State Papers, Col. (1617-21)" Nos. 601, 609 (Dale's Account), 643 (Pring's account), 742. Professor Laughton in "Dict. Nat. Biog.," Art. "Pring," says Pring did not take part in this fight: but the language in Nos. 508 and 524 would seem to make it probable that, though the James Royal was detained at Bantam by a leak, Pring, possibly on board the Unicorn, was present at the engagement. As late as February 1619 Pring had not taken the James to sea and was cruising in the Unicorn off the Straits of Sunda looking for the Dutch.

however, was such as to persuade Pring to avoid the Dutch and during the autumn of 1619 and early winter of 1620 English interests suffered much loss. Such being the case, the news of a peace made at home with the Dutch in the year previous was welcomed by Pring in March, 1620. Indeed he had already informed the Company that he favored a union of the English and Dutch to overthrow both Spain and Portugal, thereby securing a joint monopoly of tropical trade. The allies could then buy all commodities in the East and sell them in Europe at such prices as they pleased. Whereby, as he wrote, they might expect "both wealth and honor, the two main pillars of earthly happiness."¹

At news of the peace Pring, now recognized as General in command of the East Indian fleets, entered into friendly relations with the Dutch commander, General Coen; "and there [perhaps Bantam] they feasted each other that day [March 13 (23) 1620]; then all the prisoners of each side were set at liberty, and taken again aboard their own ships."¹ Thus assured of the safety of English interests in India and the spice islands, Pring then ventured further east and made the voyage to Japan. On his arrival at Firando he was made welcome by the Company's agent, Richard Cocks. The news of peace with the Dutch was joyfully received; and Pring, looking to

¹ "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1617-21)" Nos. 538, 562, 602, 607, 643, 670 (cruising for the Dutch); 747, 759, 775, 782, 787 (at Masulipatam); 802, 844, 948 (the Dutch). Cf. "Dict. Nat. Biog., locus" Pring. Clowes: op. cit., II, p. 39; several inaccuracies are to be noted here.

¹ Op. cit., No. 934.

the future, was led to believe that if the China trade could be drawn to Japan it "would prove the best factory in the world."¹ William Adams, the first Anglo-Japanese merchant, had died in the May prior to the arrival of the *James Royal*, which was on July 23, 1620; but with Cocks, who had been in the country now ten years, a five months' stay was made in which the ships were repaired.² Indeed, Pring and Cocks appear to have enjoyed the visit; for in his diary Cocks speaks of several dinners in company with the captains of the squadron. On the occasion of the sailing of the *James Royal*, Cocks noted, December 12, 1620: "We supped all at Duch howse, both Capt. Pring, Capt. Adames, and all the masters of the shippes and merchants ashore, where we had greate cheare and no skarsety of wyne, with many guns shott affe for healthes all the night long."³ Finally, with rich cargo on board, Pring started on the long voyage home, being at last signaled in the Downs on the morning of September 19, 1621, nine months and two days out from Cochie Road off Firando.⁴

The temper of the Company had been sorely tried since Pring had started for Japan; the Dutch had not kept the treaty; and events were preparing for

¹ Op. cit., No. 1133.

² Op. cit. Nos. 844, 878, 883 (Pring declined to command a fleet bound for Manila), 910, 929, 930. Cf. for the voyage of the *James Royal* Purchas: op. cit., I, pp. 629 *et seq.*; Rundall: "Memorials of Japan," p. 87. Cocks to the E. I. Co. Dec. 13 1620: "The copple of his [Adams] will with another of his inventory (or account of his estate) I send to his wife and daughter, per Captain Martin Pring, their good friend, well knowne to them long tyme past." Cf. Cocks: "Diary," II, p. 321.

³ Cocks: "Diary," II, p. 116.

⁴ Cocks: "Diary," II, pp. 54, 112-116, 318, 322. "Cal. State Papers Col. E. I. (1617-21)" No. 1100.

that terrible massacre of the English at Amboyna in 1623, which was to drive them from the spice islands for so many years. Signs of all this are to be seen in the fault the Company now found with Pring for not having opposed the Dutch more vigorously after the death of Sir Thomas Dale, for having been friendly with the Dutch after the signature of peace, for having taken the James Royal to Japan for full repairs when the interests of the Company were still in jeopardy, and above all for having indulged in private trade to his own profit. This last charge might well be true, for it was a common thing among the captains and factors in the service, though much disliked by the Company. Matters indeed came to such a pass that Pring was near brought before the Privy Council to answer charges brought against him by the Company's Court. Eventually, however, Pring was able to clear himself from several charges and the matter was dropped. But he had to wait a good part of a year for his wages, and when he finally quit the service in August, 1623, the customary gratification of money from the Company was withheld. The general opinion seems to have been that Pring was a better navigator than merchant. Yet in no instance did he fail to secure the approval of men who watched him in the active performance of his duty. The ideal commander in the eyes of the Company must be "partly a navigator, partly a merchant, with knowledge to lade a ship, and partly a man of fashion and good respect." While Pring may not have risen to that condition, he was by all other accounts a man of

service to the corporation. His misfortune was to have returned home an avowed supporter of a Dutch alliance, now unpopular, and too honest and independent to deny that he had indulged, as had others, in private trade.¹

VI.

After nearly a decade of adventuring to the east the closing years of Pring's life show significantly a return to western interests. Indeed it is possible that after his return in 1623 to his home port of Bristol, he once more assumed a voyage to Virginia. He had been elected a member of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, the organization that had supported his maiden venture in 1603; and there is one bit of evidence which would point to his having sailed to America again in 1626. For in that year one Miles Prickett, a baker of Holy Cross Parish, outside of Canterbury, made his will and declared therein that, "Whereas there is or will be certain money due me in consideration of my adventuring into Virginia under the Worshipful Captain Pryn [Pring], his charge, which goods, if they shall prosper well in the said voyage I freely dispose of the benefit that shall be due to me unto my brother."²

¹ "Cal. of State Papers, E. I. (1513-1616)," No. 700 (the ideal captain). Ibid (1617-22), Nos. 979, 982, 1110, 1130, 1133, 1134, 1136, 1138, 1145, 1161, 1171; Ibid (1622-24), Nos. 98, 103, 332; p. 92. Cf. "Pring" in "Dict. Nat. Biog."

² New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg., XL, p. 62. Brown: "Genesis of the U. S.," II, p. 974.

But whatever hesitancy may be felt in asserting a third American voyage by Captain Pring, the evidence of his continuing interest in American affairs is derived from other and less doubtful sources and may perhaps add to the probability of the third voyage. It appears that in 1621, while on the homeward voyage from Japan in the *James Royal*, the ship's chaplain, the Reverend Patrick Copland, had gathered from the "gentlemen and mariners" on board the sum of £70 8s 6d towards the building of a free school in Virginia. The largest single amount subscribed was £6 13s 4d by Pring himself and "so decreasing to one shilling." This Mr. Copland had attended Sir Thomas Dale at his death-bed in Masulipatam, August, 1619, and had on that occasion probably heard much of Virginia's needs from the lips of her former governor, then dying in the eastern tropics. At least talk of America and inquiries concerning Virginia were frequent on Dale's lips. The possibility that this plan and this subscription were in part the results of these talks is calculated to give pause when we consider the character and labors of Dale in Virginia. Whether the suggestion came from him or no, it found hearty furtherance from Pring. Copland also found on landing in England others ready to take up the matter; by several anonymous gifts the fund was by 1622 increased to £192 1s 10d; and the total was given to the Earl of Southampton for what the Council of the Virginia Company was pleased to call the East India School. A thousand acres of land also were voted by the Company to the

school, which was to be situate at Charles City.¹ The Virginia Company thus declared itself to be heartily in sympathy with the proposal and voted that "ciuility of life and humane learninge seemed to carry with it the greatest weight and highest consequence unto the plantaçons as that whereof both Church and Common wealth take their originall foundaçon and happie estate."²

Carpenters were sent out to build the school and two teachers were successively engaged to conduct its affairs. Difficulties supervened, however, and no further record of the establishment is to be found. But the gratitude of the Company found special expression in the Quarter Court of July 3, 1622, when it was thought fit to make Captain Pring a freeman of the Company and to give him two shares of land in Virginia. This, as the record reads: "in regard of the large contribucon w^{ch} the gentlemen and mariners of that shippe [James Royal] had given toward good works in Virginia whereof he was an especiall furtherer."³ Thus it was that Pring became both a landowner and a supporter of an infant educational system in America. He might, therefore, have gone to Virginia in 1626 in the interest of both his personal

¹ Brown: op. cit., II, pp. 972-3. On Copland's career to 1623 see "Cal. State Papers Col. E. I. (1617-21)," Nos. 270, 289, 302, 654, 979, 1125. In 1617 the sailors had raised on the James Royal a sum of money for a gallery in St. John's Chapel, Wapping, of which Master Rowland Coltmore, formerly of the James, became warden in 1622. Brown: op. cit., II, p. 856. In 1624 the E. I. Company, profiting by such example, voted in the future to take up subscriptions on their vessels for "those hurt or maimed in the Company's service. . . . which they think will be more proper, than for erecting a school in Virginia." "Cal. State Papers Col. E. I. (1622-24)" No. 710. Neill: "Virginia Company," pp. 251 *et seq.*

² Neill: op. cit., p. 254.

³ Neill: op. cit., p. 314.

gift and his real estate. However that may be, he must, nevertheless, have died soon after his return to England, for Prickett's will was dated November 30, 1626, and by the record on the monument in St. Stephen's Church at Bristol, Pring died in that year at the age of forty-six. This monument, restored in 1733, is inscribed: "To the Pious Memorie of Martin Pringe, Merchaunt, Sometime Generall to the East Indies, and one of ye Fraternity of the Trinity House." It bears the arms of the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, at whose expense it was probably erected; the monument is on the north wall of one of the chancel aisles, and is of sufficient size to attract the attention at once.¹

I hope that as you have patiently followed my attempt to tell you of the life of Martin Pring you will have seen how historic is his biography, how typical is his career of the epochal changes which took place in England during his lifetime, and with what close and at times curious connection are bound the efforts of those who were enlarging the power and interests of the English nation both in America and in Asia.² The place and time of his birth as well as other circumstances recall the close of the Elizabethan

¹ A description of the monument is in "Mag. Am. Hist.," IX, p. 211. Cf. Brown: *op. cit.* II, p. 974. "Dict. Nat. Biog." locus Pring. Pring: "Captaine Martin Pringe," contains a plate of the monument with a transcription of the inscription and epitaph. For further information on the interesting career and personality of the Reverend Patrick Copland (or Copeland) cf. Neill: "Virginia Company," pp. 251 n., 374, 377, and "Virginia Carolorum," pp. 31, 195-197. See also Clews: "Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments," pp. 351-354.

² Aside from the interest which naturally associated such men as John Davis, Sir Thomas Smythe, George Waymouth, and many others in the expansion of England in two hemispheres, it is worthy of note that William Baffin sailed as master's mate in the *Ann Royal* of Pring's fleet in 1617. Cf. Markham: "Sir James Lancaster," p. 267.

age, that period when men with "happy heart and a bias toward theism" followed "asceticism, duty and magnanimity," that time when statesmen wrote sonnets and sailors enacted plays, when a Grenville had a Raleigh for his historian, when

"Drake went down to the Horn
And England was crowned thereby —"

in short that time when Englishmen made discovery of mankind, of new lands and seas and of themselves.

Moreover, Pring's character and work, as well as the esteem in which he was held by men such as Richard Hakluyt, the Lord Chief Justice and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in the Occident, and by Sir Thomas Roe in the Orient, entitle him on the personal side still further to our consideration. He was an English seaman, pointing the way to England's glory and power, a forerunner of Anglo-Saxon empire in two hemispheres, an explorer, a fighter, a trader, a diplomat, and a patron of education, yet withal a man of piety, perseverance and modesty. In the quaint language of his epitaph:

"His painful, skillfull travayles reacht as farre
As from the Artick to th' Antartick starre
Hee made himself A Shippe, Religion
His only compass and the truth alone
His guiding Cynosure; Faith was his sailes,
His Anchour hope, a hope that never failes
His freight was charitie and his returne
A fruitfull practise. In this fatal urne
His shipp's fayre Bulck is lodg'd but ye ritch ladinge
Is housed in heaven, a haven never fadinge

Hic terris multum jactatus et undis."

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